113, 101, 184, 565, 463 Tuareg MS25

[For information on the Tuareg see 1: Coon, M1 Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 204-210.]

567 charged with tending their flocks. These are the Iklan-n-Egef, or dune captives. In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Bella or Bouzou.

Secondly, captives may be liberated through generosity in return for services rendered; then they are called Iderfan.

The Bella, without being definitely freed, live freely, and the Tuareg let them earn their living the best they can. In addition to tending the flocks, many of them engage in small industries. They gather up wood to sell in the urban centers, make charcoal /173/ for the same destination, and some women have become potters.

They are then organized in tribes and live like nomads in tents, just as the Tuareg, practicing endogamy, but remaining enfeoffed to an Imochar or Imrad tribe. In case of a conflict they side wholeheartedly with their masters and participate in combats as foot soldiers armed with javelins.

Several of these tribes are known in the region of Timbuktu, among the Igouadaren and the Tenguéréguif, in the Gao region, among the Ioullimmiden, and among the Kel Dinnik (eastern Ioullimmiden) from the Tahoua region. There are none among the Ihaggaren, however.

In the Ahaggar there are no Iklan-n-Egef except in individual cases.

Iderfan. -- The word Iderfan comes from the root sederf: "to free (by amplification) one who is no longer able to render good service." (1)

1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

In principal, one cannot get rid of a slave by freeing him if he is stricken by old age or slows down in his work.

Actually the case comes up from time to time, especially among the Sudanese Tuareg. But emancipation may be the result of a pious gesture on the part of the master. At other times, some

567 have been freed as a group as a reward for some outstanding action. Nicolas mentions the present Tamjert fraction in the center of Tahoua who were freed after the battle of Izerwan where they had courageously resisted the Kel Ahaggar (1898). Many Iderfan go back to cultivation. They often live with the sedentary groups, with whom they join forces. They do small services for the latter, such as tending their flocks.

114 563 567 Nicolas likens them to the Harratines of the Kel Ahaggar. This is only partially justified, for, although it is true that a few former slaves work in the centers of cultivation of the Ahaggar, the majority of the Harratin are Negroes from the Tidikelt who freely came to get jobs among the Tuareg. Thus, we must not confuse the Harratin with the Iderfan.

567 As in the case of the Iklan-n-Egef, there are no Iderfan in the Ahaggar except in isolated cases.

564 The Enaden. -- The Enaden (singular, Enad) form the artisan class of the Tuareg. In the Sudan they are called /174/ garassa or gargassa, which is very probably of Sonrhaï origin.

[192] The word Enadan probably comes from enad, meaning "the other," extended to mean "those we don't talk about." (1) This is

1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

because the Enaden form a closed caste, scorned and cursed by the Tuareg whose repulsion for manual labor is well known.

●463 564 Their role is to manufacture anything the Tuareg may have need of: weapons, wooden table utensils, tent pegs, mehari saddles, and harnessing articles.

[757] 752 In addition, they also willingly engage in the business of barber-surgeon, and with the little instruments they make they adroitly do bloodletting, cupping, scarification, and other little operations of the same order, including tooth extraction. They are remunerated [465] for their work when they work for tribes, or, if they are attached to a master, he has them entirely at his disposal.

224 Among the Tuareg hunting is the business of a few men, a few
[463] specialists who have made it their profession; however, we see a
[567] large proportion of Iklan who seem to have more aptitude and more taste for hunting than their masters. There is certainly an atavistic character in this, a vestige of ancestral mores influenced by the original forest environment, where hunting was most often the basis of human activity. But it is nonetheless true that many Tuareg are very good hunters. The most renowned seem to be among the Issekkemâren and the Dag Râli.

224 Hunting with hounds is the most popular. They hunt wild sheep
231 and gazelles with saluki-type greyhounds, who serve at the same time as camp dogs /241/ for the Tuareg. These animals, who stand tall, belong to a race halfway between the Kabyle dog and the Berber saluki and must also possess jackal blood. They are particularly suited for running and have innate talent for hunting.

224 The hunter's job is to track down the animal, to succeed in discovering him, either grazing or in his lair, and to set the dogs on him at the propitious moment when he does not expect it and at a suitable distance. An epic battle between the animal and the dogs sometimes results from this; often the battle necessitates the man's intervention, for example when there is a wild sheep which does not hesitate to confront its assailants. The hunter, who is
[441] usually armed with a long javeline with a wooden shaft, then tries to stick his weapon in the animal's body and kill it. When it is a question of gazelles, he only needs let the dogs alone. If they can catch it, the animal will be quickly neutralized by the powerful jaws of the saluki.

Beside the common hunting with hounds, the Tuareg engage in trapping, which is a lazy method of hunting. It is all the more appreciated in the Sahara because game is rare and wary, and a certain amount of luck is always involved in capturing it.

The Ihaggaren use two types of traps: traps with radial points and torsion traps in the shape of an arc.

If, secondly, we look for the aptitudes which the Tuareg have for working these different raw materials, we notice that their enumeration follows the same order as above, with the reservation that none of them know how to work metals. The latter occupations are the prerogative of the Enaden, that is to say, the artisans, and it is evident from this that without the artisans' help Tuareg industry would be limited to work in wood, leather, and esparto. In short, it is the cultural cycle of the pastoral peoples of the steppe.

It is only much later, when the Tuareg had integrated the Enaden with their social organization, that they used metals. Therefore, we perceive the considerable role which artisans must have played in technical evolution and that of art itself.

Fig. 46. Wooden funnel.

/277/ The presence of Enaden in the camps has reduced the manual labor of the Tuareg, but the latter are still able to make wooden articles -- milking vessels, bowls, tent stakes, etc.

One of their most curious customs is that women from the high nobility work wooden vessels and funnels with their hands by means of a little adze. They usually give them to the wives of their Imrad, who are very appreciative of these gifts. In the Ahaggar camps we found many little utensils which were the work of famous noble-women, of tamenokalin whose names are piously kept; these objects were saved with much veneration. This custom is even more remarkable since we know the scorn that the Tuareg have for manual labor; we must see in it a relic of woodworking which must formerly have been everyone's work, without distinction, before the creation of the artisan class.

233 across much of the land and concentrated
[137] along dry river bottoms, and the small patches of thick, lush, emerald green grass that flourish briefly in hollows here and there following rainstorms. Pasturage is always either very sparse or very scattered in the Ahaggar and so the nomadic inhabitants of the area must move often, for the supply in the immediate neighborhood of a camp is quickly exhausted.
[312] To make life still more difficult, water points are often few and far between as we already know, and it is not unusual to find good pasturage so far from any water that it cannot be used for more than a day or two, if at all. This combination of circumstances has
233 made it necessary for the Ahaggar Tuareg
221 to break up into small and highly mobile camp units composed of fractions of clans, or even single families, and each of these units must move at intervals of usually somewhere between a week and a month and often over considerable distances, although always within the territorial limits of the tribe (fig. 36).

As soon as a camp or constellation of neighboring camps is established in a new location, the head men first set up the daily grazing routine of the flocks and then set out at once to scout far and wide in search of the next pasture to be used and the next camp sites that their families will occupy. And so it goes the year around, and so the Tuareg of the Ahaggar are highly mobile nomads by force of circumstances, for they cannot survive otherwise in the region which they have made their own.

565 It is in the compelling circumstances of
233 their environment that we find the roots of
463 the class system of the Ahaggar Tuareg, for, quite apart from the question of mobility,
182 such conditions can be met successfully only by a well conceived and firmly established division of labor. In the Ahaggar it is the nobles of a tribe and the headmen of the vassal clans who ride out in search of new pastures and at the same time act as military scouts, always on the watch for enemy raiders as

[423] *The fundamental difference between the two systems lies in the fact that the basis of land tenure among the Tuareg is not that of the *beneficium* while personal allegiance is not based on the concept of the *comitatus*. The true feudal system of medieval Europe was based on the conferring of privilege by an absolute ruler (or one of his vassals) on a less

well as for potential victims, alien camps or caravans which they can raid themselves. The vassals in their turn are responsible for the daily management and immediate protection of the flocks and herds, and also constitute an armed reserve that can be called up quickly in case a battle becomes imminent or the opportunity for a major raid presents itself. The slaves take care of the domestic service and household chores of the camps while their boys go out as shepherds to the flocks.

Thus it is clear that the Tuareg class system is a necessity of pastoral life in the Ahaggar; for no pastoral community can survive there without nomadizing, and no community of nomads can survive without a rigidly formalized division of labor and authority similar to that embodied in the class system of the Tuareg. It now becomes clear also that the seemingly paradoxical combination, within the social framework, of rigidity during the period of a single adult lifetime and a relative fluidity over slightly longer periods still so short as to span often no more than a couple of generations and sometimes less, is not in fact a paradox at all. It merely reflects in simple functional terms the fact that extreme conditions call for an extreme response, that the framework within which the allocation of authority is made at various levels in the communal structure must be very firmly established but must also allow considerable freedom periodically in the choice of those who are to occupy critical positions of decision and command so as to avoid the danger of having such positions filled automatically by persons unfit to occupy them, a danger that could well be quickly fatal to the whole community.

And finally we see that Tuareg government really has nothing essential in common with the feudal system of mediæval Europe to which it has so often been confusingly compared.[9] In the last analysis authority resides in the vassals, for they can make and at least in theory break the mightiest of all the nobles, the Amenokal himself, and they can do all this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.

powerful neighbor in exchange for some specified kind of continuing or periodic service. Among the Tuareg the relationship between "noble" and "vassal" looks much the same at first glance, but this is an optical illusion, a case of merely superficial resemblance.

326 ward and then westward, across the North
[171] African hinterland to the shores of the Atlantic. The general description of this pattern, given above in chapter V under the sub-heading *Special Classes and Minority Groups* in the section on *Agricultural Centers*, leaves little more to add.

326 Smiths of the Ahaggar usually live in single
463 family units or small groups widely separated from each other (fig. 50). A few families follow Tuareg groups on their seasonal rounds, but the great majority remain sedentary most of the time in one agricultural center or another, and go out only now and then for a few weeks or months, to do a general repair and re-equipment job in the camps of some
[759] nomadic tribe or clan. The men work wood and metals and are also barber-surgeons, while the women specialize in fancy leatherwork and embroidery. In addition to these functions
[584] and those previously mentioned, both sexes of the smith community act as both go-betweens and spies in clandestine love affairs. They also engage in intertribal secret intelligence work. And a major Tuareg chief may sometimes have a smith as his most trusted counsellor and confidant.

326 The smiths usually dress as do the poorer
[291] Tuareg. The men all wear the teguelmoust but in a sloppy fashion, and they seem to have no qualms about exposing their mouths.
[582] They are endogamous and monogamous as a general rule, although a few have more than one wife and some of them marry Haratin or occasionally slaves. Ostensibly because of their lowly social status, but probably in fact more because of the fear of sorcery that they inspire, they come and go everywhere as they please, although always with a cringingly ingratiating manner. Even after one has come to know them fairly well they still give an impression of constant watchfulness and profoundly sycophantic tact of the delicately oiled as opposed to the heavily greased variety. The smiths are the most perspicacious and cleverly adaptable of all Saharan peoples, for they have learned to live off and so outlive flamboyant warriors with their retinues and

[217] the author was so fortunate as to obtain a copy of the genealogical table in question, thanks to the very kind co-operation of Captain Roger Bret, Commandant of the *Annexe du Hoggar*, and Claude Blanguernon, Director of Nomad Schools.

241 312 361

output is only enough to water the flocks, in the Ahaggar, on the contrary, a mountainous country where there is some water everywhere, a number of small villages called "ar'erem" ⵄⵔⵔⵉⵎ , plural "ir'ermane" ⵉⵏⵔⵔⵉⵎⵏ , have been built.

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Since the Tuareg, nobles or imr'ad, dislike all manual work, these villages could not have been built without the indispensible help of the Harratine of the Touat and the Tidikelt whom the Tuareg call "Izeggar'en" ⵉⵣⵣⴰⵖⵔⵏ , meaning "mulattoes." Everything was made by the latter: the wells, /74/ "tounine," which are used for irrigation, as at Tazerouk; the "foggaras," or covered wells, "ifelane," and their irrigation canals as at Abalessa, Tit, and Tamanrasset; the fitting up of springs, as at Tadjemout. The Harratine made the gardens and became khammès of the Tuareg, landowners. They settled in these villages and there built huts of "diss" (Imperata cylindrica) or of "berdi" (Typha angustifolia) and little houses of baked earth.

[342 824]

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The Harratine grow wheat, barley, and bechna in these gardens. These are the three essential crops, to which they add some vegetables: onions, kabouyas, or gourds, watermelons, and "guerroum" (a kind of long melon which is eaten green, like a cucumber, before it is ripe). Finally, at Tit they /75/ have planted some fine fig trees and a vine which yields a grape that seems delicious at this latitude. Similarly, at Abalessa, there are some vine slips and a fine palm.

Ideles (Koudia)

The gardens, or rather the fields, are enclosed by a hedge to prevent the depredations of the camels that graze free at night. But there are some that do not have this protective barrier, and the Harratine are forced to stand guard at night, turn, and turn about, lighting fires to drive the camels away from the crops.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

634 565 vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzouren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had constantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Iberdianen and Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendianen) acted as permanent soldiers and protectors.

[463] [701]

114 565 614 Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals *(Imghad)* as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:- "One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much about this.

[422] [672] [567]

174 565 614 Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin. 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a, p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg have emigrated.

/47 cont./

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C. Economic Organization

Tuareg	:	Nomadic herdsmen
Arabs	:	Nomadic herdsmen and traders
Inaden	:	Artisans
Harratin	:	Cultivators, craftsmen, manual laborers
Iklan	:	Domestics of the Tuareg
Mozabites	:	Sedentary traders
Chorfa	:	Receive alms in exchange for their presence
Zaoui	:	id.

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At the beginning of the French occupation, the Tuareg people were in a stage of social evolution similar in many ways to our Middle Ages. The same system is still in force today, although cracks in it may be seen, caused by the French and Moslem presence. To speak only of the Kel Ahaggar, who are the only ones who concern us in this study, we see a confederation of tribes commanded by the "amenokal," who is elected for life. His title confers on him the ownership of the soil, amenokal meaning "owner of the land." He disposes of the territories of nomadization /terres de parcours/ and of the arable land as he wishes. In practice, this power is exercised according to custom and in a paternalistic fashion.

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Among the tribes, a very rigid caste system exists. First, there are the noble tribes which formerly supplied the warriors; they undertook the protection of the confederation. They were rich with loot taken from /48/ neighboring confederations and from outside caravans, and from protection money paid by caravaneers who passed through Kel Ahaggar territory. Then, there are the imrad tribes -- we may call them vassals. More numerous and made up of camel herders and caravan guides, they could be called on to furnish reinforcements when an expedition ran into trouble or was larger than usual.

565 /55/ An imrad tribe of the Tédjéhé Mellet, the Kel Ohet
[162 includes 80 Tuareg and 20 Negroes. It is allied to the Kel
563] In Tounine and has many dealings with the Ajjers. The tribe's amrar is Habib ag Ouhaggarène. Its members nomadize in the eastern Tefedest and own gardens at Ohet and Dehine. The
[65] tioussé formerly was four mezoued of dates, rope, and guerbas.

The Kel Terrourrirt are imrads of the Tédjéhé Mellet.
[162 Their tribe is not numerous: 62 Tuareg and six Negroes. They
563] are very poor. They camp in the Amguid region and in the Tassili des Adjjer and possess several gardens at In-Amguel.
[65] The amrar is Hadj Mohamed ag Salah. They were paying four mezoued of dates, four sheep, rope, and guerbas. They trade with the Tidikelt.

The Ibardjien are not Issakamaren. They are imrads of the
[162] Kel Rela. It is a tribe destined to die out; there are only 24 left. They reside in the Tazrouk and Ideles region. They were remarkable hunters of wild sheep and had dogs trained for this practice.

The presence in the Ahaggar of former soldiers, most of them Chaamba, must be noted. They marry Tuareg women, found families, and raise their children in the Tuareg customs. They are fairly numerous in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

The Maalmines. Inaden

565 Within Tuareg society are found artisans called
463 "maalmines" in Arabic, but whose Tamashek name is "inaden." The masculine singular is "inade;" plural, "inaden." The feminine singular is "tinat;" plural, "tinadin."

The maalmines make up a tribe whose members almost always marry among themselves. They are related to the maalmines of the Iforas and of the Aïr. Although very black skinned, they do not have negroid characteristics. The origin
[174] of the maalmines is as obscure as that of the Tuareg tribes; some think /56/ they are Jews who were captured by the Tuareg

565/56 cont./ and who over a period of time have adopted
463 Tuareg ways (their specialization and their character lend
174 credence to this theory). Some maalmines say that they came to the Ahaggar in the time of the sultan Goma, having been separated from the Idenan tribe of which they were members. Others claim to have always belonged to the Tuareg confederation.

565 In the Ahaggar the maalmines include 17 men, about 20
463 women, and about 40 children. They have ten iklan.

[162] The men are many-sided craftsmen, often clever and fairly artistic; in view of the material they have to work with and the tools at their disposal, one may say that they are remarkable. The women work leather with skill and art. The maalmines are not grouped in tribes but form small families scattered in every corner of the Ahaggar. When a tribe, noble or imrad, needs some work done, it sends for a craftsman and provides him with animals for transporting himself and his equipment. He lives with the tribe during the time necessary for his task and is provided for by the tribe. When the work is done he is paid, according to how satisfactory it is considered, in goats, millet, milk, butter, even camels, but there is no fixed rate paid to the maalmines by the Tuareg. There is a different arrangement when they work for the harratin, who, not being so noble as the Tuareg, would not know how to reward good work with the proper generosity. They are therefore charged the following rate: for one new
[435] hoe (made from an old oil drum): five guessa /dishes/ of wheat or millet; for four rivets put in an old hoe, one guessa of grain; for a new axe the price used to be a goat or five guessa, but since the advent of the black market there is no accurate quotation.

435 For making jewelry, there is a special price fixed by
565 custom, even for the Tuareg; thus for bracelets and earrings
463 the Targui furnishes, for example, ten pieces of silver necessary for making two bracelets; the maalem keeps five

435 /56 cont./ for himself, or else the Targui pays him in actual
463 money the value of the five pieces.
565 /57/ The same price applies for rings and pendants. The
463 inaden have an ill-defined position in Tuareg society; some
565 consider them inferior to the imrads, others place them between the nobles and the imrads. It is certain that the maalmines are proud and are far from suffering from an inferiority complex. They are very well acquainted with Tuareg customs, the country, and the people, and are, in brief, the custodians of certain traditions of art, or, it could be said, of culture.

The tinadin, women of the maalmines, work leather as do all Tuareg women, but with them it takes on the character of a profession. They are very skillful and artistic, and their specialty is making cases for the iremdan /a tool/, sheaths for knives, and saber scabbards called "tittar n'takouba."

The Harratin

565 The harratin of the Ahaggar represent, as they do elsewhere in the Sahara, the sedentary element, chiefly agricultural.

The term designates, in the thought of the region, a caste in Tuareg society. When one questions a Kel Ahaggar about the ranking of the different castes, he places the nobles, ihaggarènes, first; then the vassals, imrads, making a distinction among them of the issakamaren, who are the lowest in the caste; then come the iklan (slaves, let us say, domestic ones) -- these iklan are Blacks, and their difference from the Tuareg is evident from their ethnic type.(1).

1. A parallel Moslem religious and maraboutic hierarchy exists: (Chorfa -- Zaoui -- Arabs -- Mozabites).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

564 region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed*
● 163 (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Ahaggar to cultivate
567 gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaren*, or *Ḥarratin*, like the
191 immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual, speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahaq*). The *Izeggaren* (*Ḥarratin*) are generally less
144 negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features.
142 Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*) refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaren* does not seem to exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Rat oasis known as *Ikewweren* apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

361 *Kel Ġanet* (sing. *W' Ġanet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ġanet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-
144 n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ġanet* have much the same position as
565 Tuareg vassals (Imṛad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ġanet* immigrants, their status is rather
567 like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ġanet* may possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

564 *Ineden* (*Ineden* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Ened*). These are the blacksmiths who are found in all Tuareg
326 groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one. People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make
162 hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the
564 blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna*
173 *Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963). A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Tementit in Tawat. At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.). 2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and
564 Adraf-n-Foras. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of
144 them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 21 a–b. Milk-bowls (*akaz*, pl. *ikassen*) which are used for milking and for milk drinking.

[184]

a. A bowl made of burned clay like an ordinary earthen pot. These bowls are never used by pastoral Tuareg but by a few sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar who also manufacture them. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.120 m high with an upper diameter of 0.187 m. (N.M. G. 5821).

[324]
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b. A bowl cut of the wood of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*). It is made by a blacksmith, but certain Tuareg women cut similar bowls which are common in all camps of pastoral Northern Tuareg. Such milk-bowls are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.102 m high with an upper diameter of 0.199 m. (N.M. G. 5199).

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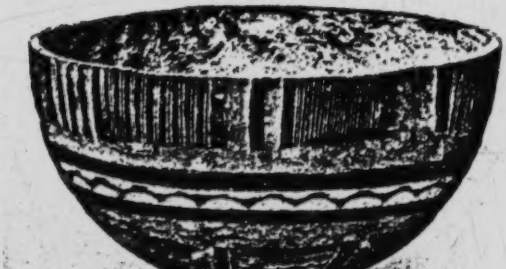

Fig. 22. Calabash of a type which is used occasionally for milking in Ahaggar. It is called *asteklaz* (*wa n akh*) or *asaklaz* (*wa n tagek*), that is "calabash for milk, or "calabash for milking". Introduced to Ahaggar from the south and bought at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.110 m high with an upper diameter of 0.195–0.203 m. (N.M. G. 5823).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

245
133

Fig. 130. Semi-wild date palms in the canyon-like Aharhar valley of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The palms are owned and harvested by pastoral Tuareg.

245 (Aharhar and Êherir) where "semi-wild" palms are abundant. These palms are owned by pastoral
[221] Tuareg of various tribes. Their dates are harvested in the autumn when Tuareg palm owners with
[342] their slaves live in straw-huts or huts covered with palm leaves situated among the palm trees.

Similar plantations of palm trees which are left to themselves most of the year are also found in
245 Ahaggar, notably at Silet-Tihehhin. Part of these palms are owned by members of the *Dag Rali* tribe
423 (the sections of *Kel Tamaynast* and *Kel Terhenanet*) and by members of the very small tribe, the
[65] *Ikechkeshedan*. The palm-owners give as an annual payment to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar one bunch
of dates from all palms which have more than two bunches. The yield of another part of the palms
[545] belongs to the vassal tribe *Iklan-en-tawsit* (the sections *Kel Silet* and *Kel Tahalya*). For usufructs,
[65] members of these two sections make a collective annual payments to the *Amenukal* comprising four
245 bags of dates, twenty goats, two ropes of goat's hair, and five water bags. The dates are harvested by
[221] Tuareg of the above mentioned tribes in August-September. Harvesting is done with sickles and is
[492] finished in three to four weeks when the palm-owners return to their camps with dates packed in bags
[564] and loaded on donkeys and camels. In harvesting their dates most Tuareg are assisted by black-
[465] skinned agriculturists (*Harratin*, or *Izaggaren*) of Abalessa who are given a certain amount of dates
[463] for their work. These agriculturists build the huts in which the palm-owners live during harvest (cf. p. 338 f.).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

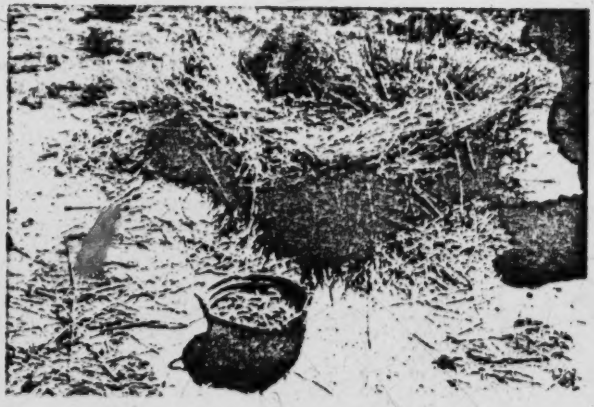

Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tazenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésanit*) filled with ears of millet (*énélé*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Akl Azzi* Arabs.

from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests of visitors and therefore acquired the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agricultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857, I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isaweyen*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.

Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking population that subsisted on agriculture.